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A
REFUTATION
OF
MR. PITTS ·
ALARMING ASSERTION,

MADE ON THE LAST DAY OF THE
LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT,

“ THAT UNLESS THE MONARCHY OF FRANCE BE
RESTORED, THE MONARCHY OF ENGLAND WILL
BE LOST FOR EVER.”

IN A LETTER,

ADDRESSED TO

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS SKINNER,
LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

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“ I know no man so great an Enemy to his Country, as not to wish for a PEACE.”
Late LORD CHATHAM.

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A
REFUTATION
OF
MR. PITT's ALARMING ASSERTION, &c.

MY LORD,

BE not alarmed when you hear that a Letter on a Political Subject has been published this morning addressed to you. It is not my intention to wound your feelings by a display of your good qualities, nor shall I make an experiment, how far I possess the talent of making flattery palatable, by giving to adulation the semblance of truth. Indeed, my Lord, I have not passed a single hour of my life, in that fashionable branch of *polite* literature, nor can I lament the want of this *accomplishment*, when I know you despise it. Suffer me, however, to observe, that if it were otherwise, and that I could descend to be the panegyrist of any man, I might now find ample scope for the exercise of impartial commendation, and escape perhaps without much censure even from the malignant. But to avoid the

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suspicion of being *too civil*, and at the same time to explain my reason for addressing this Letter to your Lordship, I shall at once frankly acknowledge, that a wish to give this little work every possible celebrity, was my governing motive ; I was convinced this desire would be fully gratified, by addressing it to a man, whose life hath uniformly manifested an honorable scene of useful industry, and who hath been raised by the unanimous, and applauding voices of his fellow-citizens, to the first honors of the British metropolis.

It has been your fortune, my Lord, to be seated in the civic chair, at a period more truly critical and important than any that has occurred, since a government by Kings was first tolerated in England. I am fully justified in this assertion by Mr. Pitt, who, on the last day of the last Session, declared publicly in the Commons' House of Parliament, “ *That unless JACOBIN PRINCIPLES could be effectually rooted out of France, ENGLAND was for ever lost.*” This, my Lord, in plain English, means “ *That unless MONARCHY be restored to that Country, MONARCHY in ENGLAND cannot long subsist.*” This alarming information coming from the chief Ministerial Officer of the Crown, soon agitated the minds of the people throughout every part of the empire, and their apprehen-

sions have since been considerably encreased, in consequence of the Allied Powers being completely vanquished in the course of this melancholy campaign. At such a crisis it becomes therefore, the bounden duty of every honest citizen to examine with the most minute attention, whether the Monarchy of England *really stands* at this hour in the dangerous predicament which Mr. Pitt hath dared to avow, or whether the declaration he so lately made in Parliament, may be fairly considered as a ministerial artifice tending to impose a belief on the people, that nothing can now save their King, but carrying on the War, as long as a guinea remains in England, or a man able to carry a firelock. If the Minister's assertion be well-founded, he has given us an unanswerable reason for our instantly supplicating the throne for his removal. This man and his coadjutors were placed at the helm long before this Country was made a party to the German confederacy, and have remained there ever since. It is surely therefore time that His Majesty should seek for abler hands. The incapacity of his present servants admits now of no doubt or equivocation. They have indirectly acknowledged it themselves. But if we find on an accurate and fair examination of the whole, that, notwithstanding the unparralleled intrepidity

and perseverance of the Republican Armies on the Continent have decisively overthrown the German league, still the crown of England is secure, what punishment does that man deserve who making no distinction betwixt the crown of a *Despot*, and that which at present adorns the brow of a patriot King, reigning in the hearts of a free people, tells us with unblushing arrogance, that with the throne of a *CATFET*, expires the fair inheritance of the BRUNSWICK line.

I shall not, my Lord, in the course of this address detain you with any observations on the separate views of those persons who at present compose His Majesty's cabinet. I shall personify the whole of the ministry in Mr. Pitt; although we are not to learn, that he complains of the influence of my Lord Hawkesbury, whose efforts in the support of an extended prerogative has often defeated measures of the most constitutional and salutary tendency. Be this as it may, Mr. Pitt has ventured to stand forward, and make this alarming declaration, as proceeding immediately from himself. He occupies the first ministerial office under the crown, and if he submits to act *second* to Lord Hawkesbury, he evinces not only a despicable predilection for the emoluments of office, but has subjected himself to the most *imminent per-*

sonal dangers. He is, my Lord, the *ostensible* minister, and therefore we shall look to *him*. On the day of *trial*, the plea of not being able to control the influence of a man, who has for so many years kept himself behind the curtain, will not be admitted ; he will in that case be told, he should have resigned. If what has been said be really the fact, that Mr. Pitt objected to war when it was first agitated in the cabinet, and that he brings this forward as an apology, he will find it rather an aggravation, than an extenuation of his conduct. It demonstrates that he has consented to be the chief agent in carrying on a war which his judgment condemns, and which he now tells us is likely to deprive this Country in future of all the blessings of kingly government. My Lord, he can best say how this matter really stands, I shall not attempt to unravel the mystery, as it could be of no service to the Monarch or the People at this hour. Here then, let it rest at present. Hereafter it may perhaps engage some part of my attention.

But, my Lord, before we give full credit to Mr. Pitt's assertion, that England and France must be either *both Monarchies*, or *both Republics*, it will be necessary to examine his scale of political talent with attention, and whether his mind be really capable of embracing and

properly analizing a subject of such magnitude and importance. We have heard much of his capabilities, but I protest, my Lord, I have not been of the number, who gave him credit for a solid judgment. In the House of Commons, considered as an orator, I think he is *every thing* —as a statesman, in the closet, *nothing*.

Let us now see if this opinion be well-founded, and this cannot be so definitively settled, as by tracing his political conduct, as well on the outset, as through the several stages of this unfortunate War. Let us examine with fidelity the alliances he has made, and observe whether an able and honorable minister would risk his *master's crown* on the ability and sincerity of the present Confederated Powers, or whether such a minister would not have soon discovered the impossibility of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Spain, under their present forms of government, uniting heartily *on any occasion*. Let us also enquire if he made himself even tolerably acquainted with the sentiments of the People of France, respecting the monarchial and republican systems, and whether the informations he received came from such a quarter as to afford him a well-grounded expectation, that a majority of the People were in favour of the kingly office: we shall likewise expect to find (if Mr Pitt is to be considered hereafter as an able

statesman,) that he was intimately acquainted with the *resources* of the Allied Powers, and that they were in such a state as to bear their several proportions of the expence, so necessary for carrying on with effect the crusade against *French principles*, and not to let the greater part, if not the whole, fall on the inhabitants of this devoted Country. We must endeavour also to find out, whether Mr. Pitt was really sensible that a war against the Republicans of France met so decidedly the approbation of the people of England, that they were satisfied to relinquish a neutrality, which ensured to them for a considerable time, most of the trade of Europe, or whether he drew his Sovereign and his Country into their present circumstances, by the most atrocious duplicity that was ever before practised on the generous and liberal nature of a free people. I say, my Lord, we must have all these inquiries satisfactorily answered, or we shall consider Mr. Pitt's declaration of the British monarchy being at this day near its dissolution, as the effect only of his usual presumption, and as little deserving of our attention, as the ravings of Mr. Burke, or the usual insolence of the door-keepers to St. Stephen's chapel.

As a necessary preface to a liberal and candid investigation of Mr. Pitt's ministerial con-

duct since the unhappy moment when the treaty of Pilnitz was signed, it becomes necessary to remind your Lordship of the sentiments the people of England expressed when they were informed of the destruction of the Bastile. Such was the satisfaction it gave to every honest citizen throughout the whole of the empire, that we could hear of nothing, but the most unbounded praises of Gallic fortitude, and the most heartfelt wishes, for their speedy and effectual success in establishing a free government for themselves and their posterity.

“ The French have at last banished that *mon-*
“ *ster despotism* from their *soil*,” was the joyful exclamation of millions in this Country. “ They
“ will henceforth be a free people, and philo-
“ sophy no longer manacled by the iron hand
“ of tyranny, shall give them a constitution
“ analogous to our own. The torch of science
“ will light the way to future tranquillity, and
“ the rising generation in both countries edu-
“ cated to esteem and value each other as
“ friends, will bury all recollection of those
“ unprofitable and barbarous conflicts, that
“ formerly agitated both nations. Hereafter
“ we shall be as one large family, inhabiting
“ different soils, and emulating each other in
“ acts of mutual kindness and hospitality.”
Such, my Lord, were the first emotions of our

hearts, and such were those of our neighbours from Dunkirk to the Pyrenees.

To suppose our Cabinet did not participate in this liberal and honest rapture of the people would perhaps not be justifiable. On the German continent however, when this memorable event was announced nothing could be observed throughout all the despotic courts; but a stare of stupefaction. It was unexpected, and each tyrant stood (to use the *sublime* language of the *sublime* Edmund) “as in a great “chaos”—This, my Lord, may be easily imagined, for the dread of the French commencing a revolution, that might eventually lead to the establishment of a monarchy limited by certain and positive laws, was nearly as tremendous an idea to a German despot, as the total abolition of the kingly office. After the first emotions of surprise had subsided, the princes of that continent, however, seemed to console themselves with the reflexion, that in France, matters would soon get into their old channel again, and this opinion seemed to be founded on a belief that the people of that country were naturally inconstant, and fickle in their temper, soon roused into action, but everlasting guided by habitual prejudices, which for ages had taught them to revere their kings as the immediate delegates of the divinity. The German courts appeared

therefore for some time, not to take the smallest concern, in the affairs of France, and the French on their parts employed themselves only in defeating the machinations of their internal enemies, and forming a constitutional code, that should at once secure the liberties of their country, and the just prerogatives of the throne.

It is not my intention, my Lord, to enter into a minute detail of the various proceedings that have taken place in France, since the commencement of the revolution. My object is only to touch on such transactions as may, by combining circumstances, serve to elucidate the little and contemptible policy, of the minister, in not engaging the people of England *immediately* in the crusade, but by *degrees* reconciling them to his measure, of becoming a leading party in the German confederacy.

The French having defeated the various plans, contrived by the court phalanx, then at Versailles, to prevent the representatives of the people from completing the important work of forming a constitution, they proceeded with great deliberation, and with a steadiness, which we had been taught to conceive, did not belong to the French character, to a consummation of their labours. At this period, several of the nobility that were hostile to the

revolution, and who placed some reliance on the chapter of accidents, withdrew—At their head was Monsieur, the king's eldest brother, that Gossomer of the aristocratic tribe ; Count Artois ; the Prince of Condé, besides others of less note, and in the rear, appeared, that man of *all work*, the never to be forgotten, Monsieur Calonne.

These *injured* and angry gentlemen had their separate destinations allotted to them. They visited the principal courts of Europe, and endeavoured by every means in their power, to engage them in a war against their own country. They delivered it as *their decisive opinion*, that unless the crown of France was restored to its *ancient splendor*, and its *rights* fully re-established, there would not be a king in Europe in fifteen years, but would have his prerogatives and powers *circumscribed by laws*. That since the American revolution took place, the people of France were so infected with the *cacoethes reformati*, that nothing but the sword could stop its progress—“ If your master can rest satisfied, (said Count Artois to the Imperial minister) at seeing his *dignities* and *powers*, torn from him by *slaves*, and afterwards considered by them in no other light than as a *chief magistrate*, he degrades the authority God only has entrusted to his care, and tacitly

“ consents to the impending overthrow of all
“ kingly government in Europe.”

Mr. Pitt could certainly quote this *great man*, as an authority to justify any apprehensions he might entertain respecting despotism on the Continent, and probably took some hints from the Count on a late occasion ; these opinions and denunciations however had not at that time the desired effect, but when the continental Powers observed, that a body of no less than nine hundred men, whose intellectual powers, and determined perseverance, was without a parallel in the history of human affairs, had nearly completed the glorious fabric of a constitution that was to give liberty to France ; they began to draw nearer to each other, and their sense of common danger induced them at last to acquiesce in the requisition of the emigrant nobility, who with the most confirmed and unblushing effrontery declared, that provided one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand men were to enter on the French frontiers, they would undertake, that in a short time afterwards, a million of Frenchmen would fly to arms, and assist in restoring the ancient government. This, my Lord, was the fatal epoch, when two Powers, whose animosities had, for more than half a century, deluged the Continent with blood, formed a coalition.

They were persuaded into an opinion, that if the French were to succeed in confining their monarchs within certain limits prescribed by laws, *their* subjects might soon follow the *rebellious* example, and in that case the divine right of kings to command nations into the field, and to butcher one another at the sound of a trumpet, be entirely exploded, as a damnable and wicked usurpation, obtained first by violence, and supported for ages by the sword. In a word, my Lord, the Emperor, and his formidable enemy the King of Prussia, signed the memorable treaty of Pilnitz, which from that hour plunged the European world into scenes of misery, carnage, and distress, which no language can describe, no feeling mind contemplate without horror.

To say, or even to suppose, that Mr. Pitt, or any part of our executive government, was privy to, encouraged, or even knew of this unfortunate treaty, would be highly indecent. Rather let us say, my Lord, the whole was unknown to the British Cabinet. Indeed it must be so, for it cannot be forgotten, that at the time these two kings smelt at one nosegay, the French were employed in forming a **LIMITED MONARCHY**, and although an opposition from the despots of the Continent might be expected, yet it cannot be conceived that our Sovereign,

he who reigns over a free people, and whose virtues have been so often the favourite theme of our best poets, could descend to aid a coalition, that had for its avowed object, a restoration of despotism, in a neighbouring country. My Lord, the supposition is ridiculous—He feels as a King of England should feel, not as a German Elector, whose power is without limitation or control.

The French Convention were soon made acquainted with this treaty—Remonstrances, we all know, were repeatedly made to the Court of Vienna, in which the French peremptorily insisted on the Emperor's declaring what was the real object of it ; they did not conceal from him their apprehensions that a plan was secretly concerted to interpose in the affairs of France, and insisted on their right as an independent nation, to form whatever government they thought expedient for the future regulation of their own Country. As nothing could be obtained from the Court of Vienna, but the most trifling, and evasive answers, the French were determined to have the first blow, and immediately sent an army to the northern frontiers, with directions to invade the Belgic provinces.

The unhappy prince who then sat on the throne of France, was not that *obstinate and unfeeling ideot* which some people have ventured

to assert, but of a placid, and benevolent nature. He was educated, it is true, in all those principles of arbitrary domination, that for so many ages have reduced the condition of millions, to a state of the most abject humiliation. But let it be remembered, my Lord, that during the whole of his unfortunate administration, not a single instance can be produced to shew that he exercised his authority with rigour or injustice. He conceived indeed his powers and his dignities, (which he vainly imagined were rights independent of the people he governed) were invaded by rebellion, and therefore it may be fairly supposed he privately gave his countenance and support to that union of foreign power which promised to restore them. His consort (whose character should be perpetuated only as a negative example to future generations) brought with her into France an Austrian faction, and this woman, assisted by councils flattering to her vices only, prevailed on the easy nature of the monarch, to assume the hypocrite, to apparently acquiesce in the establishment of a new constitution, and then to violate an oath, which with a solemnity nothing human could exceed, he had taken at the confederation. He was prevailed upon to openly violate this most sacred of all sublunary obligations ; he fled the capi-

tol, and left behind him a paper which contained a public avowal of his dissimulation ; he declared that every measure he had previously sanctioned, was extorted from him, and that whatever was done in his absence, he desired might be considered by the people, as not binding on them, but the effect of an unprovoked usurpation.

When his departure was announced to the people of Paris, fury, disappointment, and passions the most ungovernable were visible in every countenance, and yet at that critical and alarming moment, he was arrested in his flight —he was conducted to Paris—he was admonished, but, my Lord, he was *forgiven*. What an honorable page will this transaction make in the history of the French nation—all memory of his perjury, and apostacy, was buried in a recollection of his natural beneficence. They knew he acted by the advice of his unnatural, and profligate relatives, and therefore would not suffer his ear to be wounded by reproach. In a word, my Lord, all was well again.

On this happy reconciliation taking place, Lewis had the felicity to learn, from a deputation of the National Assembly, that his Crown, his Palaces, and what render them of any value, the *hearts* of the people were again in his pos-

session. At this hour, my Lord, he might have enjoyed them, had not that unnatural and baneful union of German Kings haunted his imagination, and still given him hopes, of again possessing what he had sworn to relinquish. Alas! he continued to wear the mask of hypocrisy, and being detected in privately assisting the enemies of the French nation, he was brought to trial, convicted, and in a few days after perished on a scaffold.

It is evident, my Lord, to every man acquainted with the disposition of the French people, at the time of the King's Restoration, that had he not been deceived in his expectations from the German Confederacy, the monarchy of France would, during *bis life*, have been secure—I cannot say with truth, I believe it would have descended farther.—My reasons for thinking the kingly office would have expired in France with Lewis the 16th, are not taken from authorities at second hand, but from my own observations, having travelled nearly 1700 miles in that Country, since the period of the King's being conducted from Versailles to Paris. This tour, which I have undertaken to publish, will, I think, convince your Lordship, that a considerable majority of the French people were, *even at that time*, in favour of a

Republican government. I was at Lyons shortly after the King's flight from the Thuilleries, and in that City (which afterwards took so decided a part against the Convention) I heard the National Assembly arraigned, in terms little short of open hostility, for not giving France a Republican Constitution, instead of entailing on them an hereditary monarchy, which they very indecently called an hereditary pestilence. Throughout the whole of the Southern Provinces, I found Republican sentiments had made a most gigantic progress, and the duplicity of the King, so clearly manifested in his secret departure from the capital, seemed to confirm them in their abhorrence, of not only the *monarch*, but the *office*.

I am desirous, my Lord, to draw your attention for a moment to this particular fact, as you must recollect, Mr. Pitt has never once deviated from his original assertion, that a majority of the French nation were in favour of a monarchial form, and only waited until they could be properly armed and assisted to declare themselves. By what magic this man could have succeeded so long, in imposing such a palpable and dangerous falsehood on the people of this Country, it is impossible to conceive—That he will continue this strain of deception, as long as he can find credulity to believe him,

I can easily imagine; but it must be the sincere wish of every honest Briton, that the season of imposition will expire with the campaign.

I must now, my Lord, request your attention to the conduct of our Allies. It will not be necessary to frolic in conjecture, for although this political drama had a plot and counterplot, yet we have at last got to the catastrophe.

It now appears, that when the treaty of Pilnitz was signed, the contracting parties had something more in view than a restoration of despotism in France.—It was in fact, a treaty of *partition*, and Alsace, Lorrain, and French Flanders, *when subdued*, were to be divided, in certain proportions; which, to use the language of our wise minister, would be “indemnity for the past, and security for the future.” Circumstances have since explained themselves, and therefore we can no longer doubt of the honorable intentions of the Emperor and his Prussian ally, respecting those countries. The *aroved* object, however, was the restoration of the ancient despotism of France, in the person of Lewis the 16th. But this declaration, so far from being well received in England, the people seemed highly disgusted at it. They observed, that a monarchy limited like ours would in a great

measure conduce to the future tranquillity of Europe; and which for ages had been disturbed by the ambition and intrigues of Gallic despots—often guided by wicked ministers, and the profligate councils of a favourite strumpet. We were, therefore, advocates for a popular government in France, but determined enemies to all measures that tended to a re-establishment of the former system. These sentiments of the people of England were so openly avowed, and so generally understood, that Mr. Pitt was obliged to disavow any intention of interfering, but to leave the coalesced Kings to proceed or retract, just as they thought expedient.

It would be no less curious than entertaining, my Lord, to trace the conduct of these very sincere Allies, from the moment they entered on the French territory to the present time; but as this would occupy more room than I have allotted to myself on the present occasion, I shall give you only a general outline of the whole—but that outline shall be correct.

It was suspected by almost every able politician in this country (except Mr. Pitt) that the Emperor and his Prussian Majesty had, notwithstanding their professions of sincere attachment to the cause of kings, a concealed

intention to *trick each other*. The former had a great stake in the Netherlands: his Prussian Majesty was not attacked, but a volunteer, and if he could not lay his hands upon any thing worth possessing, and matters upon the whole did not prove successful, he could retreat into his own dominions, without much apprehension of being attacked there. The Prussian, therefore, conceived that his Austrian ally should stand prominently forward in the crusade, and he assist occasionally, or, to use his own language, as *circumstances would permit*. This policy, my Lord, the amiable monarch has certainly pursued throughout the whole of the war: he has suffered the Austrian troops to be nearly annihilated, without affording them any effectual support. The Emperor frequently complained, but the answer was—“*circumstances would not permit*.”

For some time victory seemed to promise the Allies all they desired.—They reduced some of the frontier towns. But on their taking possession of them, alas! the secret intentions of the contracting parties were at once discovered. They were not to be held in trust for Lewis the 16th. until his restoration, but they were declared to appertain either to the Austrian or Prussian dominions, by right of conquest.

This nefarious system of depredation being

now openly avowed, vast numbers of the emigrants immediately quitted the Austrian and Prussian armies. They declared never to lend their assistance to any foreigner who, under the pretence of restoring their Sovereign to his *just inheritance*, entered their country for the purpose only of conquest. The Emperor and his Prussian Majesty had now convinced the whole world of their mean and despicable thirst of booty; and that having forfeited all pretensions to honor as kings, or integrity as men, they could no longer remain in such company. The Convention in Paris you may suppose, my Lord, made the most of this; and the People of England were as clamourous against the allied kings as the most enraged of the emigrants. In short, from the moment these weak men discovered their intentions, the French people became more united, and the allies may date their ruin and disgrace.

The Austrians having proceeded as far as Lisle, retreated on receiving intelligence, that his Prussian Majesty was making the best of his way from the plains of Champaign, and where he had lost the flower of his whole army. Such was the dreadful situation of the Prussians at the time they were encamped in that inhospitable country, that all around them appeared a second Golgotha—men, women, children,

and horses, were all consigned to one common grave. He was permitted, however, to retreat with the poor remains of his troops, notwithstanding the curious, and never to be forgotten manifestos of his kinsman and general, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. From the hour this retreat of his Prussian Majesty was effected, he *secretly* gave up the crusade. There were no *loose things* to be pick'd up in France, and his only policy was now to *appear earnest* in the cause, that his ally might be tempted to go on with the contest until he was thoroughly exhausted, both as to men and treasures. Of this, we can at the present day entertain but little doubt.

The French General Dumourier after disposing of the Prussians pursued the Austrian army, who had committed several wanton depredations at Lisle, and came up with them at Jemappe. A more gallant and decisive action than that which now took place betwixt the French and Austrian armies is not record-ed in the annals of human butchery. The Austrians, however, were entirely defeated, and Dumourier following up the blow soon reduced the whole of the Austrian Nether-lands.

The joy which was manifested in England, when the intelligence arrived of the Austrians

being defeated at Jemappe, appeared so extravagant, that with a very little encouragement an illumination would have taken place. But now, my Lord, the curtain gently rises, and Mr. Pitt will soon appear the accomplished hero of this political drama.

Until the decisive action at Jemappe took place, our Minister was consistent in his declaration of a strict neutrality, and the people of England highly applauded his wisdom ; but the Allies, particularly the Emperor, became so exceedingly clamorous at the Minister's remaining behind the screen, that Mr. Pitt's situation became perplexed. He could not openly avow an intention of supporting the German allies, who publicly declared their intention of restoring *despotism* in France, and yet something must be done by this country for their support. The temper of the people of England shewed, that whether the French intended to adopt the monarchial, or republican system, it was a matter in which they had no right, or was it their interest to interfere. To *provoke* a war therefore, was the best policy that Mr. Pitt's *wisdom* could devise, and in this measure he was extremely well seconded by Brissot, but whether from design or otherwise, I cannot take upon me to determine. Brissot, who at that time headed a faction in Paris, which in

some measure governed the national councils, became outrageous for a war with England. This was the very thing Mr. Pitt wanted. If he could provoke a declaration of hostilities on the part of the French, then he could plunge us into the war on the principle of self-defence, and this Brissot certainly accomplished, but I can venture to assure your Lordship, contrary to the general wishes of the French nation.

On this occasion I am induced to relate a circumstance that came within my own knowledge, as it must fully explain to your Lordship, the sentiments of Brissot respecting a war with England. In the winter of 1792, I dined with some English friends at a Gentleman's house in Paris. Brissot was invited, who after dinner became particularly communicative. Politics, as you may suppose, was the principal subject of conversation---and upon my observing, that Mr. Pitt was determined to continue his system of neutrality, Brissot immediately replied—“ That is the very thing I “ chiefly dread—Your Ministers are concealed “ enemies, and although your people wish well “ to our Revolution, *they* abhor it. To beat “ the Germans, without the English are of the “ party, would be doing nothing effectual. A “ neutrality on the part of Britain would give

" her at this time the whole trade of Europe,
 " and by that means would, after we had been
 " engaged in the contest for some time, make
 " her a powerful auxillary to the German
 " league. She might, by throwing her weight
 " into the scale at a particular moment, incline
 " the balance for a certain time in" her favor.
 " I cannot possibly think it would ultimately
 " succeed in restoring the despotism of France,
 " but it might retard our operations, by giv-
 " ing hopes to our internal enemies, and new
 " vigour to the German allies.

" As to the treaty of Pilnitz," continued
 Brissot, " the objects of it were communicated
 " by the King of Prussia to the British cabinet,
 " before the Emperor and he signed it." This
 appearing a very weighty accusation, I asked
 him in a tone of voice that expressed a disbe-
 lief of what he had asserted, " Are you certain
 " of that?" " Sir," replied Brissot, " *I know*
 " it, and in due time your countrymen shall
 " know it." " When that is the case, Sir,"
 replied your humble servant, " we shall believe
 " it." " Until then, Sir," said he, " I do not
 " desire you to credit me."

An English Gentleman, sitting on my right
 hand, immediately asked Brissot, If he did not
 imagine, the English could *then* turn the scale
 in favor of the allies? His reply was, " I do

“ not think, Sir, the power of England can
“ effect any other purpose, than keeping the
“ war alive a little longer ; but I am perfectly
“ aware, that nothing is now wanting, to com-
“ plete the destruction of your country, but
“ another expensive war. We must therefore,
“ not suffer you to hide behind the curtain, and
“ obtain all the advantages, without partaking
“ of the disadvantages of the war. We must
“ strike at you first, through the medium of
“ Holland.—You have no interest whatever
“ there, but what the Stadtholder can give you,
“ and we shall soon dispose of him. In a
“ word,” said Brissot, “ we shall have most of
“ the *Governments* of Europe against us, and
“ most of the *People* with us—but that matters
“ not—we must be a free nation in spite of the
“ world, or we must bravely perish.”

I relate this conversation, to shew your Lordship, that Brissot was as eager for the war as Mr. Pitt, and yet it is likewise true, that a majority of both the English and French people were decidedly against it. The caution Mr. Pitt was obliged to observe, in his progress to that event, shews clearly the people of England were not with him ; and a leading article in the impeachment against Brissot, (which his enemies knew the people of France would consider just) was, *bis provoking a war with England*—

This in a great measure brought him to the scaffold.

The proceedings of the Minister at this fatal epoch is so immediately in your Lordship's recollection, that it would be unnecessary to detail them. Our Ambassador was ordered to leave Paris—Chevaline, who the French had recognized as their Minister at our Court, was for some time treated with contempt, and then ordered out of the kingdom: corn ships bound to France, then in our ports, were stopt, and other matters occurred that evinced an approaching rupture. Remonstrances were made from France, and mutual reproaches were exchanged. All this signified nothing, we were to join the German Confederacy, as *republican principles in France* could not be extirpated without *English money*.

Mr. Pitt owes much to Brissot on this occasion; for on Cheveline being ordered to quit the kingdom, the French, adhering to the spirit and letter of the Commercial Treaty, considered *this* a declaration of hostilities, and war was declared by them against England the 22d of February, 1793. Here now, my Lord, our Minister is fairly before the wind. The French immediately gave directions to Dunourier to invade Holland. The ministerial cry was then loud and universal; “ *We must save*

Holland ; we must protect our Allies." The people reluctantly acquiesced---troops were sent, but the treachery and desertion of Dumourier contributed more to the preservation of the Dutch Provinces at that time than our assistance. They were, however, preserved, and the people of England then expected our troops would have either been kept in Holland, or sent back, but this was a vain hope ; our army was on the Continent, and they must join the Allies. Here, my Lord, I shall quit this part of the narrative, to introduce another Ally of our wise Minister's adoption, and who I think deserves as much credit for sincerity as any Prince or Princess in the catalogue of European alliances---CATHERINE, *Empress of all the Russias*, is the lady I allude to. This amiable Princess was invited to join a confederacy, which had for its object the destruction of *French Jacobin principles*, as they tended to overthrow *all the well regulated governments of Europe* : her *old friend*, Mr. Pitt, wooed the lady, and with success ; for although it could not be supposed this valuable woman entertained any apprehensions from the *Jacobin* faction in France, or that their notions of governments could disturb her administration in Russia, still his reasoning convinced her, that it was the cause of Kings, and therefore *in honor*

merited her utmost support. She yielded to the solicitations of the youth, and he added the Empress of all the Russias to the list of our Allies. But, my Lord, it so happened, that our Minister hath discovered as little wisdom on this occasion, as at any period of his life--- Not a single assistance has the lady sent to the Allies, although she has had as many applications on the subject, as would probably now employ us a full week in the perusal---She promised an *army*, and she sent *apologies*---she promised a *navy*, and she published *manifestos*--- she promised *money*, and she offered up *prayers for our success*---In short, my Lord, after holding out *hopes* to the Allies, that for some time encouraged them to pursue the war against *republican principles* in France, Mr. Pitt at *last* gets into the *secret*, that our Russian ally meant nothing more than to let *us*, the *German powers*, and the *French*, worry one another, until they were not capable of interposing again in any war she might think proper hereafter to declare against the Turk---What reliance Mr. Pitt really placed on the *sincerity* of Catherine, it is impossible to determine, but he certainly took pains to get *her into the mess*, and she seems extremely sensible of the obligation.

The policy of this princess is rather too quick-sighted for either Mr. Pitt, or his

Prussian Majesty. Fearing the latter would retire from the French frontiers, disgusted with the war against *Jacobin principles*, and recruit that strength she was so desirous of being exhausted, proposes a crusade against POLAND, a people who were desirous, under the conduct of a virtuous, and Patriot King, to release themselves from the tyranny of an intolerant aristocracy, which for ages had scourged them with a rod of iron. My Lord, the man who contemplates this scene of barbarous outrage with indifference, who does not feel the cause of these unoffending, brave, and long oppressed people as his own, and stretch a willing arm to their relief: I pronounce a monster, a disgrace to his species, and should be banished to some corner of the Earth, where humanity and civilization are unknown.

On the outset of this new scene of subduing, plundering, and dividing countries, the King of Prussia conceived, he would be able to indemnify himself in Poland for the losses he had, and was likely to sustain in the French crusade. Both he, and his faithful ally at Petersburgh were successful, and in the face of an indignant, and astonished world, divided the greater part of the country of Poland betwixt them. There it was imagined things would rest for some time, but Catherine had

not yet done with the Prussian King, he must not sit down quietly, and reap the fruits of his Polish expedition. The injured natives flew to arms, and a general insurrection took place not only in Poland, but in many parts of the Prussian Territories. The *jacobins* in Poland were assisted with money by the *jacobins* in France ; and, in a very short time, his Prussian Majesty found himself not only despoiled of almost every acre of his new estates in Poland, but that his own dominions were in such a situation as to threaten a total dissolution of his power as a monarch. Having laid siege to Warsaw, he called upon his Russian ally for assistance, but the lady was otherwise engaged ; she promised to come when circumstances permitted ; but the gentleman's affairs would not brook delay, and he was therefore obliged to decamp with the loss of almost all his artillery, baggage, camp equipage, and the flower of his troops.

Now, my Lord, who do you think was at the bottom of this sudden and unexpected burst of *Polish jacobinism*? Be not astonished when I assure you (and I speak on the credit of a gentleman at Berlin, now in a considerable official situation under the king of Prussia) that it was no less a personage than CATHARINE herself. Perhaps in the whole history of Ma-

chivalian politics, you will not be able to match this. However, I can assure you, the court of Berlin has got into the *secret*, and perhaps Mr. Pitt by this time may be as wise as his Ally. The King of Prussia begins to see that Catherine did not consider the conquest of Poland as the great object of her wishes, but as a bait thrown out to him, for the purpose of keeping the good king employed until he was effectually crushed. He cannot, on this occasion, be out of humour with the lady, for she has only played him the very same trick he played the Emperor in the Low Countries; stood by, until *circumstances permitted* him to act. In short, they have been engaged from the commencement of the war to the present time in *tricking one another*. Where it will end, I think may be very easily imagined.

But, my Lord, these were the alliances Mr. Pitt made.—On these he chiefly depended for the success of a war which, *in his opinion*, struck directly at the crown of his master, and which he now unblushingly says, totters on his sacred head.

I shall now return to where I left the minister beginning his career on the Continent. The English troops joined the allies; Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy were reduced; and at that time I remember the ministerial

papers gave the National Assembly but six weeks to enjoy their lives and their usurpation. Were I to recount the events of the two last campaigns, I should swell this letter to a very large volume ; let it suffice therefore, my Lord, if I at once say, that from the hour we entered into the present war, to the moment I am now writing, we have experienced a succession of defeats, disasters, and disgraces, which are perhaps unequalled in the history of the European nations. Not a scheme, plan, device, or measure, contrived by the servants of the crown, to extirpate *Jacobin principles* in France, but as directly tended, not only to confirm them in that nation, but to spread them throughout the whole of the German continent. Since the opening of the present decisive campaign, hardly a courier hath arrived in England, but has been the herald of some new misfortune. On casting up the whole account, you will find, my Lord, that it stands exactly thus—

THE EMPEROR

Lost the whole of the Austrian Netherlands.—
The flower of his armies totally destroyed—
His treasury exhausted to the last Dénier—
Drove beyond the Rhine—The upper and lower Palatine—The Dutchy of Juliers—The Electorates of Triers, and Cologne, and the

whole of the countries bordering on the upper and lower Rhine, conquered by the arms of the French Republic---The diet of the Empire peremptorily against a continuation of the war, and what is of more danger to the House of Austria than the whole ; a general spirit of insurrection hath manifested itself so clearly throughout the whole of its dominions, that a *new order* of things it is supposed will be very shortly demanded---

THE KING OF PRUSSIA

Defeated by the French armies, so effectually, as to force a declaration from him, that he was totally incapable of pursuing the war. In this paper which he gave to the world, he says, “ The French come down in such numbers, “ and fight with such an enthusiastic valour, “ that military discipline is of no service, and “ victory useless”---His finances so low, as to demand an enormous subsidy from England, or that he must withdraw the remainder of his troops from the Crusade.

That enormous subsidy paid by England, and afterwards taken by his Prussian Majesty into Poland to carry on a *just and necessary* war to that country---Defeated in Poland, and now chiefly employed in crushing the seeds of Republican principles, which have been thickly sown, during his crusade against France, throughout the whole of his dominions.

The Empress of all the Russias *weeping* for the defeats and slaughter of her Allies, issuing manifestos, and offering *up prayers to Heaven*, for the destruction of *Jacobin principles* in every quarter of the globe---

THE SPANISH MONARCH

So completely vanquished, that an alarm has been spread even to the very gates of Madrid. His principal towns in the province of Biscay, and territory of Guipuscoa, taken by the French *Jacobins*, and all their *silver saints* and *blessed virgins* found in them, sent to the mint at Paris to be coin'd into money---

HIS SARDINIAN MAJESTY

receiving 200,000 *good English pounds* per annum, to defend his own dominions, and losing part of them almost every week. The whole territory of Piedmont conquered by the French ; and Turin lately in the most imminent danger.—

THE STADTHOLDER

not secure a single hour.—The whole of Dutch Flanders and Brabant in possession of the French ; and an army of 150,000 men making their way into Holland, without any other force to resist them than what the stadholder and his friends can levy. The Dutch arming against our people, and execrating both their English ally and the war throughout the

whole of their provinces.—Calling aloud for peace, and in a state little short of open hostility against the government of the stadtholder.—

THE KINGS OF SWEDEN AND DENMARK
arming to protect their commerce.—Demanding restitution for the depredations committed on their trade by the English cruisers, and insisting on their ships proceeding to France, or to any other quarter, without being molested by us The minister, after bullying them for some time, gives way, and agrees to all their demands....

GENOA,
after enduring similar treatment from us, receives similar acknowledgments....

AMERICA
so exasperated at the underhand and despicable conduct of the minister, in assisting the Indians to make war against them, clamours for a rupture with England, and so loudly, that it is now thought to be almost inevitable. But to crown the whole—

MR. PITT,
the chief ostensible minister under the crown of England, who, after subsidising, bullying, retracting, bribing and cajoling abroad, and prosecuting, threatening, recruiting, canvassing, plotting and counterplotting at home,

finds at length that all his schemes, plans and devices have answered no other purpose than establishing the Republic of France on a permanent basis, and scattering the seeds of *jacobinism* throughout all the countries of Europe. At this moment Mr. Pitt rises in his place in parliament, and has the unparalleled confidence to tell the people of England, *that if things were ten times worse they must prosecute the war*, for nothing but restoring *monarchy* to France can save the *English throne*.

In this situation stand England and her allies at this hour, and in the situation I have before described stands the RIGHT HONOURABLE WM. Pitt, before his GOD, his COUNTRY, and his KING.

In the course of the last Session, my Lord, we frequently heard the Minister, who *began to see* that all his endeavours, aided by his *wisdom*, could not restore *monarchy* in France, launch out into a *vindication* of his conduct.... His reasons for making this country a party in this hopeless crusade against France, are to the following effect.

Republican principles, said Mr. Pitt, were making considerable progress in this Island, and they were repeatedly announced to the representatives of the people, in the shape of petitions for a Parliamentary Reform---If the French are successful in forming a government

on the ruins of their monarchy, we may expect a mutual understanding will soon take place between the disaffected in this Country, and the executive government in the other. The consequences are obvious---an attempt will be made to establish a republic in England, and our internal enemies will no doubt invite their friends on the other side, to assist them in perfecting the scheme---That assistance will cheerfully be granted, and we shall in that case be launched into all the miseries the people of France have experienced, since the commencement of their Revolution. These are no visions of a distempered imagination, says the Minister, but the certain consequences of not carrying on the war, until the *Jacobin* faction that now govern France be exterminated, and monarchy re-established in that kingdom.

I believe, my Lord, I have stated in a few words the plain and undisguised sentiments of the Minister. He certainly deserves some commendation for even indirectly acknowledging, that to divert the people from clamouring about a reform in the popular branch of our legislature, was a leading reason with him for entering into the war---But it really seems as if Mr. Pitt's *wisdom* was at variance with his interests---Surely, had he consulted even his *Chairman*, Mr. Reeves, he would have known, that

an unsuccessful war, originating on such principles, would make the people of this Country doubly violent in their demands for a reform in Parliament. The necessity of it would then be urged with double force....But when they are told, and by the Minister himself, that the throne of England must be lost if monarchy be not restored in France, (the chance of which is not worth a sous) what an irrefragable argument does he supply the people with, who think such a reform necessary to the preservation of the throne and constitution. It was a most absurd experiment even on his own shewing, and exhibits Mr. Pitt as a Ministerial Jockey, who, notwithstanding he is alarmed at the fence before him, ventures at the leap with the usual cry of...“ Here goes, *neck or nothing.*”

But, my Lord, Mr. Pitt has ventured to assert, what thousands in this country can positively, and fairly contradict. He says, that Republican opinions have made such an alarming progress in England, that in case the French were successful in establishing a Government, in which the Kingly office is omitted, we should soon follow their example. Now, my Lord, I can almost directly contradict this confident assertion of the Minister from my own knowledge. In the course of the present year, I have visited many of the principal

manufacturing towns, and several other parts of England, and although I found the people in general most decidedly against the Minister, and the War, still to a man they were for supporting the Monarchy. Even those, who did not hesitate to applaud the French, for so bravely supporting their right of legislating for themselves, and forming whatever government they thought expedient, were on that very principle, determined enemies to any invasion of their own establishment. They acknowledged, that abuses had crept into our system, which should be redressed, and which no wise government could think of perpetuating, but they were not by any means satisfied, that our neighbours had chosen a better system than a monarchy, limited by laws. " Shall we, " say they, receive a form of government, which " as yet no man can say *from experience* is a " good one, and at one stroke destroy a system " under which, (notwithstanding its imperfec- " tions) we have so long flourished---no, no,--- " let the French mould, and form their govern- " ment as they please, any change from their " last must be for the better; but let them " not presume to interpose with ours. When " their Republican code has had its century, " our successors will then be acquainted with " its value. At present, although it appears

“ to have been dictated by wisdom, yet it
“ wants the unerring hand of experience to
“ give it currency in this country.”

My Lord, I will venture to assert in the most direct and positive terms, that such are the sentiments at this hour of four fifths of the people of England ; nay, of the very men who go so far as to declare, they are determined at all hazards, to obtain a radical reform in the representation of the people. That we have many people in this country who are Republicans in principle, and would assist in establishing that form of government in England, is, I believe, certain ; but their numbers would not weigh as a wafer in the scale, if an attempt was made on the stability of the throne. For my part, I frankly own, that if any man can fairly shew me a Republic, now existing on the Continent of Europe, in which the life, liberties, and properties of men are better preserved, and the happiness of the individual guarded from violation with greater jealousy, and care, than in England—I will embrace that system, come from whatever country it may, and most sincerely pray for its establishment in this island. But, my Lord, all the examples we have known hitherto, teach us rather to dread a Republican form of government, than to entertain a wish for its adoption

here. If we look to the States of Holland, we shall find the people suffering under an aristocracy, which taking the shape and name of a magistracy, render the condition of the lower orders of the people truly pitiable. In the principal cantons of Switzerland, especially those of Bern and Zurick, the government is in fact aristocratick ; a pedigree is held in those countries, as the surest passport to places of emolument and power, and the lower orders thrown almost as far into the back ground of the picture, as in any despotic government on the Continent. Venice with her inquisitorial council, her nobles, and her *doge*, is such a vile degrading system of tyranny, that any man of sane mind, who was compelled to chuse, either to inhabit the Venetian territories, or those of the Grand Senior would sit down in those belonging to the Turk, and call it freedom. Genoa it is well known, is nearly a rival to her Venetian neighbour, in her system of tyranny, and in Poland the people were conveyed or willed away by their *Lords* as *live stock* appertaining to the soil---yet we have always named and considered these countries as so many Republicks. I shall not travel to America for a specimen of a well regulated Republic, and for a reason, that must be anticipated by the weakest understanding. The

American code at present can only be considered as a government of experiment, its greatest advocates can say nothing more for it. At this hour, it is in its nonage, but who can say, that it will outlive its *century*, that great test of all sublunary establishments. Indeed, my Lord, opinions of great credit, and founded on a thorough knowledge of their country, the evident advantages which some of their provinces derive from nature over others, and judging from the dispositions of men in every climate, and in every country, give no flattering expectation of their present Republican system, surviving for any considerable time their favourite Washington. This is but conjecture I acknowledge, still I am vindicated in declaring, that as no man can be certain of its advantages, but on the contrary the wisest opinions are at least doubtful of its future efficacy, numbers in this Country, who would adopt a Republican government, on a supposition they had received a perfect model from America, are but few indeed.

But, my Lord, although I have not yet understood, from example, or from history, that any republican form of government has been hitherto so organized, as to warrant a preference to our own system, yet I would not be understood to say, that our neighbours will not be

able to complete a government, which shall be the admiration of all civilized states. This indeed would be a presumption which even Mr. Pitt might be justly ashamed of....The French have, in the course of their revolution, surmounted so many difficulties, called forth the energies of the human mind, and directed them to the accomplishment of things, which former ages had considered far beyond the contracted sphere of man's ability, that we are lost in a contemplation of their powers, and render it a matter of some difficulty for any man to say with certainty at this hour, what it is they *cannot do*. We have known armies composed chiefly of men educated in, and immediately taken from agricultural pursuits, vanquish the most numerous and best disciplined troops, that were ever trained to slaughter their fellow beings. We have known their commanders taken from the shop, the desk, and even from the post-horse, conduct their legions to battle with all the skill of the most experienced Generals, and baffle the utmost exertions of men, long educated in the science of military tacticks, and possessing a reputation in the trade of war, not inferior to the most illustrious *cut-throats* of antiquity. We have known a fortress surrender to the French arms, 200 miles from Paris, and the intelligence travel to the capitol, at the rate of

180 miles in 47 minutes. We have known children who had not breathed a dozen summers * weeping at being refused to share in the dangers of a siege, and bursting the restraints of paternal tenderness, fly into the trenches, almost choaked with the slain, and drowning the cries of the dying with shouts of *Vive la Republique, Vive la Nation.* We have known whole companies of women contend with their husbands for the post of danger, in the day of battle, after the combat bury *their* dead with military honours, † and then march to their camp with all the regularity of the most experienced veterans. We have known, that when a scarcity of powder was felt throughout the nation, their store of salt petre being exhausted, the inventive faculties of the people were so wonderfully exercised, that in the course of but a few months, a quantity was obtained, more than sufficient to supply a million of men, during the whole course of the most active campaign. All these things we have known, and various other matters accomplished, which in former ages would be deemed chimerical. How then, my Lord, can it be possible, for any man to say, that a people accomplishing such prodigies, shall notwithstanding fail in the formation of their govern-

* Laundrecie.

† Bellegarde.

ment. Rather let us suppose, and let us hope, that whatever system, they may adopt, they may experience its advantages, and their posterity enjoy those blessings, which for so many centuries were denied to their forefathers, by the unfeeling, and cruel hand of arbitrary domination.

But, my Lord, our wise Minister will not only insist, that our political establishment is in the most imminent danger, but that our holy religion is in as bad a situation. The cruelty manifested by the French, in butchering the refractory Priests and scattering the rest, has been a prolific subject for abuse. I am no friend to barbarities of any kind, and many I believe have been perpetrated in France since the commencement of the Revolution, that might have been avoided, without any injury to the great cause in which they are engaged— Still I cannot but think, the banishment of their Priesthood a most fortunate event, not only for themselves, but for all Europe. It has been acknowledged by the ablest men that have contributed to enlighten the European world, that a more degrading, dangerous, and abominable system, could not be imposed on the credulity of man, than that exercised under the authority of the Pontiff. The pure and mild spirit of the Christian dispensation has

been entirely exploded, and opinions imposed upon the people, so gross, so palpably ridiculous, that our astonishment rises into wonder, when we contemplate its duration. The history of the Priesthood, since the establishment of the Roman See, is written in blood—Kings have been betrayed, dethroned, degraded, and murdered by this impious crew of holy miscreants. Nations have been plunged into war, that menaced a total depopulation, and thousands have been committed to the flames for only doubting the Inquisitorial and Evangelick powers of their communion---Out of the peal of what they impiously call the Church of Christ, no soul can expect to reach the mansions of the blessed, but is doomed to suffer in some Bastile of another world, an imprisonment eternal.

It would be an unnecessary and disgusting employment, to enumerate the various mischiefs that have arisen to the inhabitants of this quarter of the globe, and to christianity, through the artifices and intrigues of this abandoned class of men. But the French are accused of going too far in this particular instance ; having not only made one general sweep of Popish priesthood, and all the saints in their calendar, but of treating the whole of the Christian system as a fable, founded on the

mythology of the ancients, and deserving no more attention than what we usually pay to those imaginary beings, which the ancient Egyptian astronomers placed amidst the constellations.

I believe this accusation to be true, and not only this, but I understand the schoolmen of France are instructed to educate the rising generation in a system of moral ethics, distinct from any belief of an omnipotent, creative, and self-existing providence. The Encyclopædia, which the French exultingly tell us occupies at present one thousand folio volumes, is to be in future much devoted to these kind of doctrines. You see, my Lord, I am no advocate for French principles, either polemical or theological; but if I were questioned as to the propriety of our going *to war*, for the purpose of rooting out *atheism* in France, I should immediately answer, that such an attempt would be most abominably ridiculous; as perfectly so, as Mr. Pitt's crusade against the French *jacobins*. I would not have the confidence to say, *dogmatically*, that by the promulgation of such opinions the French philosophers will absolutely destroy the political morality of the people.—Such confident assertions I should leave with Mr. Pitt, and his new ally, Mr. Burke. I should answer as

I think it becomes every man to do, that an individual capacity is too finite and circumscribed to judge peremptorily on such a subject ; but still I should not hesitate to declare, that *going to war* on such an occasion, would be a very preposterous way of determining the existence or non-existence of a Supreme Intelligence ; and that our posterity would censure us as severely for the attempt, as we now do our forefathers for their wise expedition to the Holy Land.

As far, my Lord, as my feeble understanding will permit me to judge, on this occasion, I cannot imagine Mr. Pitt's or Mr. Burke's labours are in the least necessary to the suppression of atheistical doctrines, either here or elsewhere.—They surely cannot be generally credited in an enlightened nation, although it is true such opinions have prevailed in France for more than a century. Grotius, the celebrated civilian, in a letter to his brother, written about the year 1642, speaks highly in commendation of the philosophy of Hobbs : still, I cannot but conceive, that an Over-ruling Intelligence, a Power that governs and directs the universe, is so evident to the human understanding, that a *whole nation* can never be established in a contrary belief, although some men may persuade themselves, that all matter

is a composite of the elements, ranging in the void infinite, without any extraneous impulse but acting only from itself. Matter says an atheist *is*, because *it is*—it *moves* because it *moves*: and this is *his* creed. Surely, my Lord, such a doctrine leaves us to combat with a thousand difficulties, which the belief of a Superintending and Omnipotent Power must at once remove. We know the movements of the heavenly bodies are *regular*, this can be no matter of uncertainty, as we calculate the appearance of an eclipse to a second of time, and know when the shadow of one planet will totally obscure, or partially conceal from us the face of another. This regularity cannot, surely, be the effect of matter acting only from itself, but the evident consequence of some powerful Being, whose attributes, and whose essence are beyond the reach of human comprehension. These are things so evident to my understanding, that I cannot imagine we may fairly apprehend any possible danger from the atheistical writings of the French philosophers.

I would not have introduced a theological subject on the present occasion, had we not heard so much lately about atheism in France, that I was apprehensive Mr. Pitt, might in some of his future speeches urge *that* as a *reason*

for continuing the *war*. He has got, however, so much of the peoples' money, for the purpose of destroying French *Republicanism*, and has made such a miserable use of it, that I fancy he will not get a very large sum during the next Session, for the purpose of destroying *French atheism*. When a peace comes (which I trust in providence is not distant) the people perhaps may conceive, their religion would not be much injured, if a reform in our Church, was to occupy some part of the attention of the Legislature. They may begin to think, some alteration necessary in the distribution of ecclesiastical benefices, and desire to see the meekness, and disinterested spirit, of the apostolic character, more generally the objects of our pastors imitation. They may persuade themselves, that if the saviour of man, and his apostles were now living, they could not behold without abhorrence, a *Lord Spiritual* in possession of 10,000*l.* per annum for doing nothing, and a poor curate in Wales, with perhaps seven children, preaching on the morning of the Sabbath, ten miles from his cottage, for less than *two shillings*, and impelled by the wants of his family, obliged to **PLAY THE FIDDLE** for *six-pence* in the afternoon. These, and various other matters appertaining to the Church, may be viewed by the people, as ob-

jects that require investigation and redress, but the pure and benign principles of our religion will flourish, when their opponents are mouldering in the sepulchre of atheism, *forgotten*, or *despised*.

From what I have now said, you must observe, that I entertain no apprehensions for the safety of our *Monarchy*, or *Religion*, notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's memorable declaration, on the last day of the last session. Indeed, my Lord, throughout the whole of his ministerial conduct, we perceive an imbecility of talents, that cannot reach those points, which are so essentially necessary in the formation of a great statesman. To get at the secret movements, and different policies of foreign cabinets, and to judge when and where they may be applied, to the advancement of his purposes, require some experience, and penetration. But to reach the sublime station, of a truly wise, and accomplished minister, he must study, and make himself acquainted with the various operations of the human heart. How the different prejudices, and passions of men are acted upon, and moulded by *education*, and *local habits*. If Mr. Pitt had not been a miserable novice, in the study of his own nature, he would have soon perceived, that no rational hope could be entertained of the French army relaxing in

military discipline, from the doctrines of equality (as understood and promulgated by the Convention) being communicated to them. He would have known, that by *educating* a people in any given principle, whether polemical or theological, that is not hostile to their reason, you make them almost what you please. If instances were now wanting to establish the opinion, that men in general yield to habit *independent of reason*, I might call to your Lordship's recollection, our late treaties with the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel, and Hesse Darmstat. These worthy gentlemen agree with our Government, to hire so many men, for a certain sum of money. But say they, if a *head* be shot off, we shall expect so many *crowns banquo*--if an *arm* be shot off, so many *crowns banquo*--if a *leg*, so many *crowns banquo*--and as it was likewise stipulated that *three wounded men* should be reckoned as a *dead one*, it is curious to observe, how the agents of these *carcase butchers*, examine the men after an action, and charge to the last *scratch*. Why then do the people submit to a tyranny, the bare recital of which makes the people in this Country shudder?--Why, my Lord, because they have been *educated* in a belief, that all their *heads, legs, and arms*, are the *property* of their *Lords*; and what is, if possible, more extraordinary, these very people will clamour as loudly as any in Europe

against the French, for endeavouring to overthrow all *well regulated Governments*. We may indeed suppose these unhappy people will soon be enlightened, and when that is the case, I believe they will consider their members as their own, and not proper objects *for sale*, at the will and pleasure of their Governor.

Observe now, my Lord, what the French have done for these several years last past. They have taught their soldiery to consider themselves as citizens, of an equal rank, when not employed in military operations; but when their duty calls them to the field, they have been educated to think, that for a certain time, they must obey those who are appointed to command them, as a measure necessary to their own preservation, and the completion of their object. This distinction, or superiority of character, ceases with their military duty, and they return again to that rank in society which admits of no superiority but the laws. Is there any thing in this doctrine, my Lord, so hostile to common sense, that a wise man could expect confusion would arise from it? I know it has been asserted, and by men who had contrived to get some reputation for discernment, that all the French armies would be completely disorganized by the promulgation of those philosophic notions of equality. They

contended, that when a common soldier of the line was convinced, that he possessed an equal rank in society, with the general officer, obedience could not be exacted. This, my Lord, is one of those assertions, which gingles on the ear so pleasingly, that few people examine into the truth of it. They take it for granted, because they have heard the same thing a thousand times before—but were they to consider what effect might be produced from *educating* men in certain principles, they would soon detect the cobweb sophistry, of these pidling philosophers. But let us see what light experience, that unerring test of truth, affords us on this occasion. There are hundreds in this Metropolis, at the present time, who have visited the French armies, during the last, and the present campaign, and they tell us, (for they do not conceal the fact) that it frequently happens when the soldiers are not on guard, and have good quarters, they indulge themselves in various exercises and amusements, in the course of which, not the least distinction of professional rank is observed. At a certain hour they retire to their separate messes, and at the table may be seen placed by each other, in the utmost good humour, generals and corporals, colonels and drummers, majors and fifers, eating, drinking, and laughing heartily :—the

corporal desires the general to hand him some bread, and it is done on the instant.—The drummer tells the colonel not to gobble up so much of the soup, but to leave some for him, and the colonel immediately obeys.... The fifer desires a glass of wine, and if the major be near the bottle he fills his friend a bumper, and they hob-or knob together. But if in this happy situation of tranquillity and *equality*, they are suddenly called to action, (which frequently happens) every man flies to his station, and never moves, acts, or appears to think, but by the command of his superior officer.

This subordination in men, possessing an equal rank, in every situation appertaining to civil and social life, is a complete refutation of all the theory of the scholiasts, and shews beyond the powers of controversy what may be done by a wise legislature in the formation of the human character. Mr. Pitt, by assisting to call forth this experiment, has laid the axe to the root of aristocracy. It has demonstrated, that a well-regulated society may be formed without that permanent elevation of rank which has been so long esteemed the bulwark of a state. His best apology on this occasion will be the fact—that such a cause, he did not imagine could produce so *extraordinary* and *dangerous* an effect.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, who possesses a mind wonderfully comprehensive and enlightened, delivered it as his most solemn opinion, in the course of the last session, that by continuing the war a military republic would be effectually established in the heart of Europe, and of power sufficient to shake it to its centre. This opinion well deserves our maturest consideration ; especially when we reflect, that millions in France are now competent to all the situations of active life, who had not seen their fourteenth winter on the commencement of the revolution. These have been educated in the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, and we might as soon expect to calm the fury of the elements by a whisper, as to change or weaken them.—They have heard, and are hourly informed, of their brothers, fathers, or some of their dearest relatives, suffering by the hand of regal power, and this serves to confirm them in a rooted abhorrence of monarchy in general. So far the mischief is irreparable ; and evinces, that his Lordship's prediction may be fulfilled on the Continent, even before the few years expire that must complete the present century!

The pains Mr. Pitt has taken (and he has been seconded with *all the powers* of his very consistent friend Mr. Burke) to establish a

confirmed animosity betwixt the nations of England and France, is a subject that well deserves our severest reprobation. We have heard it laid down as a political axiom, that both nations should not unite in bands of mutual amity.—Nay, more, it has been confidently asserted, that such an union is impossible. I believe, my Lord, a more dangerous and wicked policy cannot be conceived by the most abandoned parasite of a court. If these politicians had said, that peace could not long subsist between the two *governments*, situated as France was at the time of her monarchy, they would have been right; but to say, that it is impossible for the English and French people to unite in a mutual intercourse of friendship, provided both governments were equally free, is to suppose that there is some natural difference in their respective organizations that engenders hostility. This at once appears such a palpable absurdity, that it might reasonably be presumed every man would treat it with derision; and yet men as *wise* as Mr. Pitt have said so. Educate a people to abhor war, and they will never arm but in their own defence....The quakers fully and incontestibly elucidate this position. A morality so pure and beneficent, would force itself on the people if not shackled by the in-

trigues of power, and make them enthusiasts in the performance of it. Pray, my Lord, what *natural impediment* is there against the establishment of an amicable union, between the inhabitants of *Paris* and *London*, that would not operate against a like communication betwixt *this City* and *York*? Or how comes it, that *Scotland* and *England*, so long engaged in the most bloody conflicts, and entertaining what was considered a mortal enmity against each other, appear now, and really are, friends and brothers.—The reason is evident.—They have seen the folly and wickedness of that policy which set them by the ears together, and mutual happiness is the result of it. The same reasoning will apply to *France* and *England*. There is no *natural impediment*, but a *political* one that stands in the way, and creates difficulties, which the people are *educated* to think are insurmountable. When this *political impediment* is exploded, civilization will necessarily follow, and all the blessings man is capable of enjoying be secured to him. To any man that says this reasoning is fallacious, I shall answer, that if it were found, after an impartial and fair trial, not possible to exterminate war, by applying to the reasoning faculties of our species, and that we must give up a *world* for a *country*, surely, my Lord, the

whole of the human race must for ever bless that man who first made so glorious an experiment.

I have endeavoured to shew your Lordship, that Mr. Pitt does not merit the reputation of a *wise* minister, I do not think he is a corrupt one, or that he would accept of a bribe from the Committee of General Safety in Paris, although he has, without meaning it, rendered the most effectual service to the cause of Republicanism in France. But to give his *wisdom* fair play, and that nothing in its favor may be concealed, I will at once suppose, the great object of the war accomplished—I will suppose the allied armies in Paris (although I really think without a sufficient number of *ballons* are provided for them that will never be the case)—The Convention slaughtered to a man, and Lewis the 17th seated on the throne, in all the plenitude of despotism—What follows all this, my Lord? nothing, but a renewed scene of carnage and desolation. The majority in favor of the present republican system in France, is so decisively immense (Mr. Pitt knows this to be the case), that a King would not be certain of his existence a single hour; he could never eat without the apprehension of being poisoned, or go to rest without fear of assassination. To force a King upon them, would be to render

the condition of the man more truly miserable, than that of the poorest *Sans Culote* on the vast territory of France....The allies, if they left an army in the country to support him, would be in perpetual danger---In every city, town, village, or spot, where they were lodged, they would be secretly butchered, and this carnage would never cease whilst a single foreigner in arms remained in their country....A complete and effectual conquest of twenty-six millions of people, inhabiting such a great extent of territory as France, can live only in the *utopian* fancies of Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors---Indeed, my Lord, if we give the minister's plans their own direction, and acknowledge them completed, still there is nothing to be drawn from them but misery, disgrace, and perhaps ruin to this country.

The advocates for continuing this destructive war (and they are now but few indeed), express their fears, that as the French have subdued the Austrian Netherlands, they will insist on keeping them, when a treaty for a general peace comes to be agitated. A reasonable man would suppose, that a restitution of those countries should be the consideration of the Emperor, not a matter of our concern. The Court of Vienna cannot expect, that the people of England are to impoverish themselves to

fight its battles---If we are to be made a party in every quarrel, his Imperial Majesty may think proper to enter into with the French Republic, because the Carmagnols have it in their power to conquer the Netherlands whenever they please, we shall be truly in a hopeful situation. But, as it has been for a long time the earnest wish of every honest and intelligent Englishman, that we had completely got rid of continental connections, notwithstanding all that has been said about preserving the balance of power in Europe, let us now examine what ill consequences we might apprehend from the Netherlands remaining in the possession of the French.

I believe it to be true, that by such an accession of territory and population, the French will become a more formidable people, than they have been, at any periods since the days of Charlemayne. They will possess a country opposite to our own, naturally fertile, and which was the seat of European commerce, and of all the arts previous to the reign, of that monster Philip the second of Spain. Let us take for granted likewise, (as I wish to examine the whole impartially and accurately) that commerce will again flourish in those parts, and that by opening the Scheld, Antwerp will be restored to her former wealth and

splendor. The consequences however, that must result from all this, are (provided we have an honest and intelligent Parliament, and an honest and wise Administration) that we shall be *compelled* to turn our thoughts to those internal advantages, which from nature we possess, superior to most other countries on the habitable globe, and which for centuries, we have so idly, and shamefully neglected. What, my Lord, must our posterity think of their fore-fathers, when they read, that in the revolving course of ages, they have employed themselves in exploring the remotest corners of the Earth, for the purposes of trade ; and of their entring into alliances, to promote commerce, that frequently entailed upon them the most expensive and destructive wars. When they understand likewise, of their sending armies, to ransack the Indies, in open violation of every principle, divine and human ; and to gain a monopoly of merchandize, useless or destructive in its consumption, when at that very period, they had in their own bcsom, and at the threshold of their own country, a source of wealth infinitely more productive, than all their commerce with the other nations of the world put together? Strange, my Lord, as this may appear, it is notwithstanding most correctly true. The fisheries on our own coast,

(which we have suffered the Dutch in a great measure to monopolize) and a proper attention to the improvement of our own soil, in the several branches of Agriculture are capable of producing annually, not so little as TWENTY MILLIONS STERLING. To avoid any possible doubt as to the fact, I refer to those authorities published at several periods respecting the fisheries, and to Sir John Sinclair's late reports from the board of Agriculture. May it not therefore be fairly asserted, that if the French were left in full possession of all their conquests, not only in the Netherlands, but elsewhere, they never could improve them so, as to yield a Revenue, equal to half this amount. Our fisheries alone would prove a nursery for seamen, fully competent to man a Navy that could sweep the ocean, and the improvement of our waste lands, together with a proper attention to the Agriculture of these Islands, would establish a race of yeomanry, that would not only cultivate, but defend them against a general confederation of the European world. What a glorious scene, my Lord, here opens to our view. Our commerce would extend to every quarter of the Globe, and our manufactures, not interrupted by war but protected and encouraged by a wise and honest Legislature, would be sent to every foreign state, on terms,

that would force a market. I am aware, that to elucidate these subjects, much time and attention, are required. I can do no more in the compass of such a letter, as I now address to your Lordship, than draw a slender outline, which may hereafter be filled up, to the entire conviction of the people of this country. It may however tend, to corroborate my opinion, that England has nothing to dread from the French conquest of the Netherlands, or the final establishment of their Republic.

It may be said on this occasion, and with great truth, that we must reform many abuses that have crept into our system, before we can reasonably expect any real advantages from our local situation. A wise and independent Legislature would effect every necessary reform in a very short time, and without any serious interruption from Republicanism in this Country.—If we find any difficulty in completing an effectual and peaceable reform in England, it must be of our *Minister's* creating—He may continue to alarm the Monarchical and Aristocratic branches of the Legislature, by assuring them, that if once they begin reforming, it will never end but in an extinction of both. I know, my Lord, this is the ministerial cant at present, and a more fatal deception it is impossible to conceive. I really believe his Grace of Port-

land was convinced, that his title, and perhaps his estates, rested entirely on our Government being able to abolish *jacobinism* in France, as the most certain means of destroying *equality* in England—At the moment of this miserable delusion, he lost a *fair fame* and found a *ribband*. Mr. Pitt's determination not to yield even to a *reasonable* reform, because it may produce *unreasonable* demands on the part of the people, is a species of logic not easily reconcilable to a common understanding. The word *reform*, says the Minister, conveys no definite meaning, but goes to such an extent, as to preclude all investigation. I believe men of much more political sagacity than Mr. Pitt, are of a contrary opinion, and can see no possible mischief that would arise to the Monarchy of England, if the people, through the medium of a regenerated Parliament, were left at this hour sole arbiters of the case. In the course of their deliberations, it is very probable, they would consider the office of *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports* as an absurd and expensive burthen on the nation, and in the general sweep of all such employments *that* would certainly fall ; but the people would be as diligent in establishing the constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, as the privileges of the people ; and the reason is, no preponderating weight must be left in the scale

of either, or that ballance, so necessary to the accomplishment of a free Government, would be lost. This is exactly the doctrine that prevailed with our ancestors at the Revolution, and I assert in direct contradiction to all Mr. Pitt has said, respecting the alarming progress of antimonarchical principles in England, that at this day they form the political bible of the people.

But if we were to admit, for the purpose of meeting the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his own ground, that since the American and French Revolutions took place, *jacobinism* had made a rapid progress in these Islands, can he possibly suppose, when he seriously considers the present state of things in Europe, that prosecutions or the sword will exterminate such opinions—My Lord, he must be a driveler indeed that cannot see it would produce an effect directly contrary. His proceedings to awe the people into silence, must necessarily lead to an extensive military establishment, and this very measure would in the end completely overthrow him. The people of England have always been highly tenacious of the Military, as being directly under the controul of the Executive Power ; and if the democratic branch of the Legislature could be so entirely abandoned, as to grant the supplies for an augmentation of

a peace establishment, every reasonable man would dread the consequences, as directly leading to the completion of those evils the Minister *tells us* he wishes to avert. When war was announced, Mr. Pitt's answer to those who were bringing forward a reform in the representation of the people, was—" *This is no time for agitating the business of a reform.*"—It therefore slept, but the Minister is sensible it will awake, when the good sense of the people is not disturbed by military slaughter. He may then attempt to alarm his gracious master with assurances of his just prerogative, nay of his crown being in danger, but in the heartfelt addresses of his subjects, the Monarch will behold his throne permanently established in the affections of the people, and not to be weakened even by the miseries they have so long endured through the corrupt and persevering ignorance of his servants. To a heart so feeling as his own, how painful must the recollection be, that since we joyfully received him as a native Sovereign, (but four and thirty years ago) more than five hundred thousand Britons have been slain, and two hundred millions have been lost to this Country---ALL sacrificed in the pursuit of measures as injurious to the true glory of the Monarch, as they have proved destructive to the interests of the people. In the administration

of *Lord North* he lost *America*--But notwithstanding the baneful administration of *Mr. Pitt*, he shall not lose his *Crown*.

Since the expiration of the last Session, a rumour went abroad, and was generally credited, that a Peace was in a fair train of negociation. The convulsive joy that appeared in every countenance on the mere chance of this being true, was soon abated by the information they received, that our wise Minister, notwithstanding the incapacity of the allies, and the dangerous predicament into which he had brought this Country, were notorious to the whole world; still he was determined to get more money from the people for the purpose of carrying on the war. The *new scheme* devised by the Minister to exterminate the *Jacobins* and their *principles* abroad, is really so entertaining that I cannot avoid giving your Lordship a slight sketch of it.

We are given to understand that our *Ministers* and our *allies* BEGIN to apprehend that penetrating into France, through the northern frontiers, is not *quite* practicable at this time. They begin to see this at the end of three campaigns, during which time, instead of making conquests, they have lost their most valuable possessions. What a pity it is, my Lord, they did not get into this *secret* a little sooner;

but Mr. Pitt has now contrived such an effectual mode of prosecuting the war, that success is *almost* infallible. He proposes sending an army, and an immense quantity of military stores, to the assistance of the loyalists in La Vendée and Britany. How the army and the stores are to find their way into those countries, Heaven only and Mr. Pitt can tell---However, they are not only to be sent, but all the emigrants scattered over Europe, are to be invited to join the modern Turenne, *Count Artois*, who is to plant the royal standard on the most *convenient spot*, and when a *sufficient* force is collected, they are to enter into *British pay*, and good quarters, until the whole of the republican faction be exterminated in France, royalty restored, and they take possession of their former estates. This, my Lord, is the substance of the *new plan*, devised and recommended by Mr. Pitt for carrying on this *just* and *necessary* war, and which we are told he is to explain to the entire satisfaction of *his friends* in Parliament early in the ensuing Session. This *satisfactory* speech is, no doubt, to be followed by his requesting the *necessary supplies*, without which, the *just* and *necessary war* must certainly be relinquished.

How many *millions* on this occasion he will obtain from the people of England, through

the medium of *his friends* in parliament, I protest, my Lord, I cannot divine, but I know perfectly what he *deserves* for even contemplating such measures. The French emigrants will have as little objection to take our money, as his Prussian Majesty evinced on a late occasion, and will do us just as much service—They have experienced our *friendships* at Toulon, and various other places in the course of the two last campaigns, and can now thoroughly appreciate its value. But there is one *small* objection to their entering heartily into Mr. Pitt's *new scheme* for carrying on the war, and which I think he will not be able to do away *entirely* to their satisfaction. They know if they are taken, they can expect but little mercy from their countrymen, and they are not to learn, that a vast majority of those who joined in the confederacy have been already sacrificed. They will, notwithstanding, accept of whatever *money* our wise minister thinks proper to give them, and will not be deficient in grateful acknowledgments or *promises* of any kind.

The day, my Lord, is past when the infernal and dastardly policy of arming the people against each other, might produce a temporary effect, and that day never can return. The insurgents of La Vendée, Britany, and Poitou, are not now of sufficient strength to render any

material service to the cause of monarchy. They are, however, frequently troublesome to the husbandman and the traveller. On these they commit depredations, for the purpose of obtaining subsistence, but their numbers are so effectually reduced, and such armies distributed to watch them, that nothing material can possibly be expected from those quarters.— When Toulon was in our possession, and Lyons in a state of insurrection, something might be attempted in the southern provinces that had an appearance of success. But those opportunities escaped the sagacity of our minister, and all the treasures of this country, were they at his disposal to morrow, would not recover them. I speak not only from my own knowledge of those countries, but on the authority of several intelligent and impartial gentlemen, who have visited them since my departure.

Under the heavy pressure of such accumulated misfortune, we have but one road to pursue that can bring us to a safe and happy home, and that is, the People must instantly supplicate

THE THRONE FOR PEACE,
and for the immediate removal of those ignorant and infatuated men, who feeling neither shame, compunction, or remorse, for all the miseries they have heaped upon us, DARE NOW

to talk of prosecuting the war. If on this awful and decisive occasion we listen to intriguers, or are menaced into silence, ADIEU TO ENGLAND. If corruption or authority prevails at this hour, Britain would not deserve the patriot tear. Our country, and Mr. Pitt's allies, call aloud for peace, nay, my Lord, *for any peace*. Who then shall dare to tell the nations, that human butchery must proceed?--- Such a thought might rouse the people to excesses, dreadful even in contemplation. Let us therefore pursue a constitutional, peaceable, and steady course ; by so doing, we shall succeed with him who reigns uncontroled in the hearts of his people. At such a crisis we naturally look to the conduct of the metropolis, as a guide to the whole realm. London is to the empire, what the heart is to the body natural, the vital spring of its existence. You, my Lord, are now called upon to act as Chief Magistrate, and it is not impossible but an attempt may be made to shake the independence of your mind, and to sully the purity of your character, by making you on this occasion a dependent instrument of other men's designs.--- I cannot doubt, my Lord, if such a flagitious attempt be made, but you will reject it with a becoming indignation. What pecuniary acknowledgment—what promise of Ministerial

friendship, can recompence you for such a waste of honor. The fair harvest of your days would be scattered in the moment, and the evening of your life, would not afford you time to gather it in again. In fortune you are independent; in mind you have long manifested an incorruptible integrity. These are safe, and honorable pledges to your fellow Citizens, and to the whole nation, that no improper bias can change the fair tenor of your way. At a period when the Chief Minister of the Crown tells us, that the throne of a *Brunswick* is gone, if the throne of a *Capet* be not restored, your situation becomes an awful one indeed. Your predecessors had little more in charge than what immediately appertained to local concerns. But at present your duties must be directed to the whole Empire.--Your principles, and conduct on this momentous occasion, cannot but have weight in the general scale; how cautious therefore must you be, lest by sliding into error, you vindicate the enemies of your country by example.

In consulting your fellow Citizens, on the positive necessity of an immediate peace, you will no doubt observe, the various interests and passions, that govern them. Some, who have received, and others that expect favours from the Minister, will clamour for the war. Those

who feel interested in the advancement of opposition, will be as violent against it. Such men you must not countenance, my Lord, their views being mercenary, you can place no reliance on their promises, or their attachments.---Receive into your confidence men independent like yourself, and who consider the general happiness as the best security for their own. Here the love of self becomes virtuously united to the patriot character, and it is consecrated by the good sense of a liberal and applauding nation.

Consider this letter, my Lord, as a preface to a history of the last campaign, which I intend publishing, when the winter forces the contending armies to retire from the field.---A more important epoch I believe is not recorded in the annals of human transactions. Let me also request you will accept of this epistle as a sincere, though trifling, testimony of that respect and esteem which I have long entertained for your Lordship's character.

With the most ardent and sincere wishes for your health and happiness, I now bid your Lordship an affectionate adieu.

THE OBSERVER.

